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593 764 dances in the mourning for him. All varieties of brothers within the clan are included, the activity being really more a clan than a fraternal function.

593 602 Among brothers within the clan fighting is not allowed, but among brothers who belong to adjoining clans warfare is quite common.

786 837 Although the Murngin and the other seven tribes who share their type of kinship have a very strong feeling against the younger brother's copulating with an older brother's wife under ordinary circumstances, there is a period among the peoples practicing the Gunabibi ceremony when sexual "license" is recognized and even demanded between brothers and their wives. This is, however, strictly regulated; only brothers from more distant clans would be invited and allowed to exchange wives for ceremonial copulation. The tribal ideal of this custom is that a few nights before the end of the ceremony older brothers call their consanguine younger brothers and ask the latter to go to the nearby camp of the distant brothers in attendance at this ceremony, taking the older men's wives with them. The older brothers in the visitors' camp do likewise. The men and women paint themselves and go into the bush in the nearby jungle for copulation. The last night one woman may stay with several men, for a larger proportion of men than women always attend, since wifeless brothers usually enter into this ceremony. After a man has had intercourse with a tribal brother's wife, the husband puts his sweat on both of his guest's legs "so that he won't be sick from it." The men meanwhile have been [431] giving presents to the women for some time before the ceremony and the women turn the gifts over to their husbands, although they frequently keep part for themselves. In reality, there is an exchange of presents, as well as of wives, among these more distant brothers.

The above is a tribal ideal. Actually, copulation purely for pleasure [783 751] starts early in the ceremony, while the last night's indulgence is a purification rite supposed to cleanse a man and woman of impurities and to avoid illness during the period between the present ceremony and the next. The men and women have clandestine meetings, but it is generally known which people are having these assignations in the surrounding bush or jungle, and many broadly humorous remarks are passed by both sexes about their various lovers. However, some men and women would not enter into this earlier secret copulation, but would wait until the last night.[6]

[6] The ritual place of wife exchange and its significance are treated in the chapter on Murngin totemism, particularly pages 406-408.

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alive, while the second provided for himself and was treated like any other man except that he talked and was spoken to by a sign language. The relatives of these two assume that mokois had entered their heads and that some day they would be led out into the bush, where someone would steal their souls, for "plenty of crazy men have been killed that way." It is thought that when these men were babies a dog had walked over the body of the more normal one a few times but had then been kicked out of the way; while the dog had walked over the other one several times, thus making him much more insane. "That one [the normal one]," said his brother, "when he was a baby a dog walked over him once and maybe twice. That made it so he couldn't hear or talk. I think that other one had a dog walk over him five or six times before his mother kicked that dog. I think that when the mother of that first boy kicked that dog he yelped and that is the reason he is not silly like that other crazy man. That other dog just went 'Unh' and didn't call out, and that is the reason his head is no good."

Image Whipping.—Another form of magic is to draw an image and then go over the whole of the body, naming each part and using the name of the intended victim. The image is then whipped with strings. This will cause a man's body to rot to pieces, and it is supposed to have killed several men among the various tribes in northeastern Arnhem Land.

Dreaming and Magic.—A bad dream can also cause sickness. Dreams of an open grave, of a recently dead man, or of the totemic emblem are among those which cause a man to rise from his sleep, build up his fire, put a branch of green leaves in the fire until it is smoking, brush himself off, and, if it seems to have been a particularly unpleasant dream, brush off the members of his immediate family.

Excretion and Magic.—There is a certain amount of fear among the Murngin that excreta or waste food products will be picked up by an enemy sorcerer and used to inflict sickness upon them. The belief, however, is not very strong, since no great care is exercised to hide this matter so that it cannot be used by the sorcerers. A man, however, before urinating or defecating, digs a hole and squats over it. He is seldom seen standing while urinating. Women squat too, but when in the bush put their hands on their knees and bend their knees slightly while remaining partially upright.

If there is a particular fear of magic, fish bones, kangaroo bones,

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supposed to allow the water to come through. The holes are filled with leaves and grass. A shell full of water (E) is placed at the head end of the larger circle, and a rock (F) is placed in the channel. This represents a rock found in the actual well and the fresh water which comes out of the spring. The sick man is placed in the larger circle which is the totem well. The male members of the clan gather about it and sing the garma song, which particularly describes some activity surrounding the clan well and identifies the clan as a separate unit or part of the moiety. If a Dua man were ill, the members would sing the two old creator women, who, on coming back from hunting food, found their totemic emblems had been stolen by the men. The names of the women, references to the types of totems, and the shouts of the men who had stolen the emblems would be part of the song sequence. Red ocher is then sung by the chorus while a man is preparing some red ocher on the stone found in the smaller circle, and water is poured over the patient. The red ocher is then rubbed all over the body of the sick man. When this operation is completed the singing stops and the ceremony is over.

The Relation of a Prophylactic Ritual to Healing Magic

The relation of this ritual to the art of curing by magic is the same as the relation between preventive medicine and ordinary doctoring in our society. In modern society, preventive medicine recognizes the fundamental causes of disease and tries to prevent their being present and active in a community so that none of the members can be made ill by them; therapeutic medicine becomes active if preventive medicine fails. The disease by this time has struck certain members of the community; the cause must be removed, but by different techniques—different not in kind, but only in degree. Both are scientific methods and both combat certain types of diseases which fit into certain scientific concepts and classifications.

The prophylactic totemic ritual averts illness from anyone who participates in it and from the group generally; on the contrary, anyone who does not participate in it will be ill. Illness and general dysphoria are prevented by removing the accumulated ritualistic uncleanliness through the totemic rites of purification. During the year certain people become ritualistically unclean by breaking certain taboos and by a lax observance of the tribal laws. Magic and ritual cleanse them and the society generally.

It has been pointed out above that the source of ritual power which

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can kill or cure is in the totemic well and surrounding sacred rituals and objects. They belong to the general category of "inside" or sacred. The power of magic to secure these same effects comes directly from the dead, who belong to the same "inside" category as contrasted with the "outside." The two categories are both "dal" or sacred, and both ritual and magic are channels by which this power can be correctly expressed in the world of the profane.

Section II. A Sociological Interpretation of Black and White Magic—How Magic Works

Statement of the Problem

Durkheim's "church" among the Arunta is a clan organization. Each clan celebrates its spiritual unity through the unifying concept of the totem and with such objective symbols as the totemic emblem, its rituals and myths. Magic and the magician, on the other hand, fail to become part of religion and are antithetical to it because they have no church, says Durkheim. The magician as an individual manipulates techniques, and his power is the opposite of that of the priest (or ceremonial leader), who functions as ritual leader of the group. It is the thesis of this chapter that the essential nature of magic and ritual is the same, both expressing a fundamental unity and functioning alike for the individual and for the group, at least in Murngin society.

The analysis of Murngin magic to determine its nature is divided as follows: (1) a test of the magical belief of the north, which does not possess magical "techniques," with that of the south, which does; (2) an examination of the social configuration of magic in the south by (a) seeing what part ritual plays not only in the north but in the south, and (b) examining how the individual and the society behave when magic is put into effect.

The Test of the Northern and Southern Areas

The Murngin offer an excellent opportunity to study the nature of magic in relation to the social organization and society generally, particularly in relation to religion. The northern and eastern clans lack the medicine men of the southern and western clans and depend on one of the rituals for healing. The social organization of both groups is identical, the kinship system, the moiety divisions, et cetera, being the same even to minute detail. We can thus observe what elements are found in the non-personalized magic of the north and

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we circumcised those young men. That blood made her sick." One old man spoke up and said, "That blood made her sick. It makes women ill when they touch us after the Djungguan. It is the spirit in that blood that does this. It is the totem, not the wooden emblem, but the spirit inside with the power name. He is in that blood. A woman cannot touch it or it will make her sick." 753 826 784

Smaller rituals are performed by two or three individuals to cure someone who is ailing. Frequently women rub red ocher over their bodies because of an ailment, this being but an abbreviation of its use in the larger ceremonies. Red ocher string is tied around the head or body to cure a headache or abdominal pain. This act, too, is but a shortening of the ritual in which decorated string is placed around the head or body in the larger ceremonies. 755

Larger rituals are definitely used to remove pain. Certain parts of the Djungguan are designed to take away the pain from the boy who is being circumcised. The women relatives whip themselves in order to transfer the pain from the boy to themselves. The head of the boy's penis, they also say, is a turtle's head, so the cutting of the foreskin cannot hurt him since it is not his flesh being cut but that of the animal. These statements are also supposed to remove the pain from the boy. 785 826 831

Other rituals, which assure success in war, are demonstrably only elaborated magical practices. The gaingar spears represent the head of the Dua and Yiritja moieties. The souls of the dead of the moieties are supposed to be in each weapon. The ceremonial throwing of the spears to assure the killing of an enemy and to prevent the killing of their own men is definitely of a magical nature, the power of these ceremonies depending upon the souls' clustering around the spear just as the power of the magical killing stick depends upon the souls which cluster about its point. 778 789 775

The bone magic ceremony used in the maringo fighting (see Chapter VI, Warfare) is also an elaborate ceremony focused upon the magical idea of the soul's being associated with a bone relic. In earlier parts of this chapter the individual treats the bone in a ceremonial way to practice his magic against his enemies. Both the gaingar and the maringo ceremony from one point of view are elaborate magical practices participated in by the group and led by the ceremonial or war leader.

All the rituals, particularly the Narra, which celebrates the ascendancy of the clan totem, are commonly used to purify the group of 751 783

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751 any uncleanliness which might cause sickness and death. The group
183 baptism in the Narra ceremonies is explicitly considered by the Murngin to be a method of preventing illness and a way of washing away the ritual uncleanliness which causes it. Participation in the Gunabibi has the exact opposite effect to non-participation, since it too prevents sickness and death of the individuals who are a part of it. The whole
[165] mourning ceremony is consciously an effort to prevent sickness from occurring to any of the members of the group by forcing the contagious soul away from the land of the living and into the land of the dead.

The Nature of Murngin Dal (Mana or Power)

118 Murngin mana which lies in the rituals is both helpful and harmful. Those things which are powerful and strong because of an extramundane quality are said to be *dal*, which means they have mana and possess spiritual power.

Objects Which Are Dal Because of Primary Relationship with the Totem.—A catalogue of the elements in Murngin society which are dal indicates that all the objects within their material culture can be dal provided they have been given a power name by someone who has
[887] the right to give it. Old men are the only ones who know and can use these sacred names. Most of the objects in the material culture which possess the dal quality have it only because of the power name. Dal names fit into the general classification of "inside," while ordinary words in daily use are "outside." The men's sacred camp, the place where all the sacred totemic rituals are held, is described as "inside," the common camp as "outside." The water in the clan well is considered common, ordinary, and outside, whereas the subterranean water down below, where the totems and the ancient ancestors live, is inside. All the very sacred rituals are inside, while the ordinary garma type is outside. The totem, totemic emblems, totemic ancestors and ceremonial objects are all dal. All the objects, then, which have the quality of dal may or may not be sacred in their own right, but in all cases they obtain their power because of a special connection with the inside or sacred.

Objects Which Are Dal Because Connected with the Dead.—Another category of objects is also classed as dal, but the items in this group are not necessarily associated with a totem in a primary relationship. These objects include the bones of a man killed directly by black magic or by an enemy clansman, pieces of a spear found in a wound of a dead clansman, bark or wood saturated in his death's

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1. A week or ten days afterward all the men and women who have participated for the first time in the ceremony are painted with red ocher and kangaroo fat, at least twice. The last time a fire is made of ironwood, and green branches are held in it and brushed all over the initiate.

Native Interpretation.—This ritual is to keep the participants from becoming ill and to prevent them from being hurt by any of the animals seen in the Gunabibi dances. The use of red ocher for purification purposes is general. It is one of the recognized mechanisms of the Murngin ritually to prevent or stop sickness. At the end of the Gunabibi the following comment was made in a variety of forms: "After the next rain a man can come out and see a lot of emus and kangaroos and all kinds of animals. He will say, 'My word, we sang him good in that last Gunabibi.'"

THE ULMARK CEREMONY

The Ulmark ceremony is performed in the dry season. It may last a month, a season, or possibly two dry seasons. In rare cases it may be shortened to a few days. The length of time depends on the leader and the old men associated with him.

Like the Djungguan and the Gunabibi, the Ulmark too is an age-grading ceremony. The boy who undergoes its initiation is placed definitely in the men's age grade. The Ulmark is recent in this area and is still being learned by the older men. It is not yet felt to be obligatory for all men to pass through it to attain social adulthood.

Human blood is not used in the Ulmark ceremony. It is the only one of the four major ceremonies belonging to the Wawilak cycle that does not use blood. Kangaroo grease serves more or less the same symbolical function.

New feather strings are made in preparation for the Ulmark, to be used as ornaments in it. The work of collecting the feathers and making the string is supposed to take a month or more and depends on the supply of feathers available and the amount desired by the men for the dance. Four men who later play the rôle of kangaroos gather the feathers from the various camps and take them to the men's ceremonial grounds at the camp where the ceremony is to be held.

The first three sections are largely preliminary. The first two sections take place simultaneously.

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781 sisters. After all the sacred drama had been enacted by them and they had
773 been swallowed by the Great Father and taken down into the holy waters in the lower depths of the totem well, the Wawilak men arrived and saw the scene of the tremendous struggle in which the Wawilak sisters had used all of the sacred rituals they knew to prevent their being defeated by the great python. The men, who had been searching for the sisters, went to sleep there that night and during the night they dreamed. In the dream their Wawilak sisters returned and taught them all of the sacred ceremonies that they had sung and danced before being taken down into the sacred water hole. The souls of the Wawilak men were the beings who experienced and first learned these ceremonies and transmitted them through the dream to the mundane bodies of the men, and from them the knowledge of how to perform correctly the great ceremonies was passed on from generation to generation to the present day.

781 Most of the dreams experienced by the Murngin are felt to be of a
753 dangerous character and sometimes directly responsible for causing illnesses.
751 Whenever a man has had a dream of this description he immediately builds up his fire and goes through the leaf (warntdjer) ceremony to chase away any evil which might have come with the dream, either in the form of the soul of a dead man, the power of some great totem, or because of associated images with the totem of the dead, as, for example, in the dream of an open grave or of a man with ceremonial blood upon him. If the dream is of the pronouncedly dangerous variety the man, when he awakens, may put his whole family through the warntdjer ceremony to make sure that
781 the stronger evil has been removed. Dreams are definitely associated with
754 black magic, for at times it is difficult for a man to determine which is dream and which is waking reality. Occasionally a man will have a dream in which he sees himself being subjected to sorcery; he awakens and believes the dream to have been something that happened to him in his waking experience.

Munyiryir's brother declared that Kimingmulu had attempted to steal his soul. He said that two or three nights before he made his accusation he was lying asleep with his wife in his camp on Pudjeriki Island when just before morning someone came along and stepped on his foot. He was dreaming at the time. He did not think this was part of his dream but that someone was trying to steal his soul. When he awakened he looked to see who had stepped on him because he thought that someone was trying to get hold of him to put a log on him. He followed the tracks that were near him and discovered them to be Kimingmulu's. He said nothing to the suspected sorcerer but talked the matter over with his brothers and other near relatives. The man he accused was a member of a group with whom his clan had had strained relations. After careful interviewing it became clear that Munyiryir's brother did not know which was dream and which was actuality, but that his seeing the tracks of one who belonged to a pos-

237 nificance and *must* be accumulated by the hunter.[15] This
778 fat, as well as the feathers of the birds mentioned above, are known as *tjärnbin* and play an important part in the ceremonies called *kunabibbi* and *ŋulmark*. The long bones, bills and some of the flight feathers of these birds are also accumulated and wrapped with paperbark into neat parcels called *täbarr*.

264 About midday, or at the conclusion of a drive for game
512 or fish, the people look for a suitable place to make a fire and to cook such small game as opossums, bandicoots, native cats, "goanna" or fish, as they may have secured. If they are hungry, some vegetable food may also be cooked, but the principal meal of the day is eaten in the evening
461 after the return to camp. For a couple of hours during the
512 heat of the day the natives rest. But they are rarely idle; even during these halts the men may often be seen squatting before little fires, making or repairing spears or other weapons. The women also take advantage of such respites to work at the string or mesh baskets which they carry rolled up in a half finished state, just as a white woman may take up knitting or other handiwork in moments of leisure.

[777] [15] Failure to do this would bring "bad luck", a ritual visitation, upon the hunter or on the people. The *tjärnbin*, the name given to the fat and also to certain of the feathers of the mammals and birds which have been mentioned, is believed to carry, in concentrated form, the *marr* or "spiritual power" of the animals. To waste this
[753] *tjärnbin* is to risk a ritual visitation, and if it is held for very long there is a too great concentration of *marr* so that the people will
[751] become sick. To dispel this *marr*, to avert the danger of sickness from it, a ceremony called *kunabibbi* must be held in which the fat and the feathers which are called *tjärnbin* are used and the danger is averted. It may be noted also that failure to cook game which has
[777] been killed, such as the flesh of one of the kangaroos, will bring "bad luck" and impair the *tjämbait*, the prowess or "good luck" of the hunter.

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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cicatrix across his chest. These raised shiny ridges stand out like cords, and once they have healed they seem to cause no inconvenience. Clay is rubbed into the wound so that it will heal slowly, and the mutilated flesh becomes a raised ridge. Men with sufficient vanity treat any accidental wound in this manner, and produce broad, irregular raised areas and cicatrices over their bodies. The Stone Age warrior is proud of his cicatrices and regards them as a form of beauty. Burramurra told me that they are a sign of manliness, and added: 'When women see a man with rows of long thick cicatrices across his chest they are attracted by the glamour.'

Arm-bands are woven from split cane and string and are adorned with opossum fur or birds' feathers; everyone seems to wear from one to a dozen of them. Cane armlets are the most common; they are tight fitting and are usually worn till they fall to pieces. Men's muscles swell round them; as children grow, armlets become so tight and painful that they chafe the skin and have to be cut away. Mothers and fathers decorate their children with armlets and string corselets, which are said to prevent illness and sores.

Vast quantities of string and rope resembling raffia are made from the inner bark of several trees. Varieties include string as fine as cotton, fishing-lines, rope for turtle and dugong harpoons, and two-inch cable for mooring canoes. In the making of string it is a common sight to see an old man squatting in the sand and pulling the hairs off the inside of his thigh and then picking out three fibres of bark and spreading them on his hairless thigh. With a hand on the fibres he rolls them toward him and finally with a quick thrust of the wrist he reverses the action and rolls them forward, uniting them into a single string. Fresh fibre is added as required, till in about an hour fifty or sixty feet of uniform string is completed. Harpoon and heavy ropes are